1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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582 exogamic groups, so I presume that he was stating marital preferences, unless in some cases he is vaguely aware of blood connection.

583 A man went secretly at night to his sweetheart at her father's house. If she was willing he stayed with her and later presented a buckskin, [584] blanket, or horse to her parents. If she or her parents objected to the match, they drove the man off.. If the girl was willing, though her parents were not, they might elope. In such a case the parents would finally give their sanction to the accomplished fact and the man might then make them a small present. People in general would approve of runaway matches, but the girl's relatives might cause trouble. Advances [584] should always be made first by the man, for the woman who does so falls into disrepute.

Presents were usually given to the wife's parents, depending on the worldly circumstances of all concerned. It seems to have made little difference in the relations of parents and son-in-law when such presents were not forthcoming. In recent years the present ranged in value from thirty to fifty dollars. Sometimes one good horse was presented; at current rates (1919) this would be worth about sixty dollars. The husband's relatives might also give clothes and ornaments to his wife.

591 The husband lived with his wife at her parent's camp until he was ready to build his own home, or more usually, until his wife had borne one or two children. During this period the man worked for her parents, or rather with them, in the fields, fetched wood and water, etc. When they finally established their new home it might be near either his or her parents' camp.

Sinyella gave the following account:—

584 When a young man wants to marry a good-looking girl, with whom he had talked, he went at night and waited close to her house until her relatives were sleeping; then he crept into her bed and shook her awake. If the girl did not want him she yelled, but the boy would not want her parents to see him, so he would go right out and return home. Someone would tell her relatives who the boy was. Then the parents would say to the girl. "The one who wants to marry you is a good boy: we [581] want you to take him. He works well, he is not lazy; he is a good traveler and hunter; he has plenty of horses and other property. He is pretty good. If he comes again, do not yell: we like the boy." When the boy comes again she receives him. But if the parents do not like him, they say, "We do not like you: you can not marry our daughter." If the girl receives him, they sleep together for four or five nights. Then 583 the boy thinks of what he will give the parents. Long ago the boys gave horses, buck- 591 skin, meat, corn, pi'on nuts, mescal, or other things to eat to the parents. The boy then stayed at her parents' house for a year or so, until the couple wanted to establish their own house. He would gather wood, plant, and hunt for her parents; work for them. He would stay with his wife's parents until they had one or two children. If 586 the girl or boy is lazy or fights or does wrong, they returned the presents and terminated the affair.

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When I married the first time I gave the girl's parents one big blanket and a 589
black woven Hopi shirt trimmed with red, and a lot of dried deer or antelope meat: 582
just these three things. I was then about twenty-five years old, a pretty big man. In those days the old people said they did not want young boys to marry; they said they were old enough when they were grown men, young men. The girls should be the same, they said, perhaps seventeen years old. Now the boys and girls marry too young.[1]

In 1919 Gathawinga, aged fourteen, married twenty-two year old Wallin. When her father Panamida returned to the canyon several days later, he broke off the match on the grounds that Gathawinga was too young. He had no objections to Wallin.

It does not appear that the presents are a purchase price; they seem 583
rather to be in the nature of a compensatory present given partly in 587
return for the girl, that is, like any other exchange of presents, and partly as a gift to establish friendly relations. The only difficulty with this view is that it is said that if a woman re-married within a short time of her husband's death, his relatives might demand presents from her new spouse. This would not happen, however, if a considerable period had elapsed, one, two, or more years.

The bearing of illegitimate children seems not to have been a barrier 848
to marriage. Mary was delivered of James by an unknown father after she married Bert. Bert treats James precisely as he does his own sons.

Marriage with a woman who had been previously married was "much 587
easier." The man stayed only a week or two in her camp. Generally no presents were given, but if the man was rich, he gave something. The woman's relatives exercised some control in such cases also. A step-father treated his stepchildren precisely as he would his own.

A man may marry the older or younger brother's widow, just as any other man may. For example, Smiley's second wife, T'ēskim"ladwa, was the widow of his elder brother, Kūfō. The levirate (*su'gipd*) is not compulsory; it makes no difference whether or not there are children. The sororate was not practised, but it was preferable to marry a second sister, if it was compatible with her inclinations, when the first died. The husband would then give presents to her parents. In other words, it appears that the girl's family was not under obligations to furnish him a wife; this renders it even more unlikely that the marriage presents are payments.

A man could have two or three wives (*tahawigipd*, having two wives, 595
hamdpd, two; *tahamágipd*, having three wives, *hamágd*, three.) One

[1] This is a popular fallacy, but it is overturned by the assertion that illegitimate births were extremely rare.

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but he would not attempt to kill him. He would kill the man's horses. Anybody might interfere to put a stop to this. Another informant said that the guilty woman would be beaten and divorced: her husband would keep their children. 586 584]

Divorce for barrenness had never been heard of. If a wife proved barren (*pik'iglótatádj*, barren women) the husband would take a second wife in order to have children. A quarrelsome wife, one who pulls her husband's hair, bites, scratches or pinches him, destroys his property, etc., would be turned out. [595]

If a man maltreated his wife, beat and stunned her, her relatives would interfere, admonishing him to treat her well. She might retaliate by throwing away the food she cooked, or in an extreme case by running away to her parents or to another man. If a girl returns to her parents without cause, her mother would send her back. A Havasupai woman married to such a Walapai runs away every year with a different man, though the Indian police bring her back to her husband. The Havasupai consider her justified; their head chief, taking over the function of the agent, recently married her to another Walapai. However, it is generally recognised that she is a light character. 593 684

Marriages were not often contracted with foreigners. The situation today represents the condition fairly well: there are six Walapai women and one Yavapai married to Havasupai, while a few natives are wives of Walapai. Walapai women are considered the marital equivalents of native women; a view undoubtedly induced by a unity of culture, speech, blood, and by friendship. I was told that Hopi women were never married, but Cushing saw one there in 1881.[1] Occasionally Paiute and Navaho women were married.[2] Other tribes were too distant to furnish wives. Havasupai men did not steal girls from other tribes because it was too dangerous. I doubt that Yavapai women were married in the old days, because they were the chief enemies. 582 648

Walapai and Navaho girls were married when they accompanied their families down into Cataract Canyon to trade at harvest time. Such women sometimes stayed only a short time and then went home. In such marriages a Havasupai man did not live and work with his wife's parents. Alliances of this type might be casually formed, as in the following instance of a lost Navaho woman told by Sinyella. Illicit relations with Walapai, Navaho, Hopi, and Paiute were common. [439] [586] [837]

When I was so big [about fifteen years old] we were camped just a little above Lee Canyon: many Havasupai were camped up there. Six or seven men, my father,

[1] Cushing, MS.
[2] Walapai and Paiute are said to intermarry.

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582 648 Smiley, Jess' paternal grandfather, Watahomidja's father-in-law and Arthur's father, wanted to go hunting: I went along with them up the Moki trail. We went on and on until we were near Ahdgiitvtdidja (Dripping Springs, near Grand Canyon Station). That night we had a little snowstorm. Next morning there was snow on the ground when we went out to hunt. We found tracks where someone had been walking along in the snow; we followed the tracks, and after a little way found the person. It was a Navaho woman. Our people talked to the woman in the Navaho language: "Are you all alone, or are there other Navaho camping near from whom you have strayed?" The Navaho woman said, "I am just by myself: no Navaho are camped near here. I just came by myself from a long way back there. I come from northeast of San Francisco Mountain." There were more Navaho over there with whom this woman had been living. They had told her that her relatives were living along the rim near Grand Canyon Station and Dripping Springs. "I wanted to see them; that is why I came to look around," she said. "I looked around here but I have seen no one as yet, only you people who found me."

We took the woman over to where we were encamped and told her, "Do not be afraid of us and do not go away. Stay with us. While we are hunting about stay at the camp and do some cooking, such as boiling deer meat; get it ready, so that when we get back home we can eat it." She was pretty good at cooking and boiling deer meat and she remained there as she was bidden. When we found her she had no matches or firedrill. We saw that she had taken cedarbark and rubbed it soft and rolled it into a long thin roll, about two meters long, binding it with sagewoods. She coiled this slow match up and set fire to one end of it, carrying a little fire that way.

The Havasupai asked, "Where is your camp? Show us where that place is." She said, "All right," and she went ahead with the Havasupai following. She went to the edge of the canyon directly above Dripping Springs, and we saw where she had built a nice little house. She had nothing there; no bed or anything at all. We asked her, "What things have you been eating?" She said, "I have no provisions to eat at all." At that time there was snow on the ground and when she saw rabbit tracks, she tracked them. When a rabbit went into a hollow log, she thrust a long thin stick, pointed and barbed, which she carried, into the log and twisting it into the rabbit's fur, pulled it out. Then she roasted it. "That is what I did in order to eat," she said.

The Navaho woman showed us where she had camped and then we went back to our camp. Next morning we went out to hunt and caught two more deer. The following morning we started home. My father said, "I am the man who is going to have that Navaho girl. I will lend her my horse to ride." Everything was packed on that horse, and the girl rode it. We put no bridle on the horse; we just tied a long rope around his neck, so that my father, now dead, could lead it, and we started home. That is how we led it along and brought her down home.

After we brought her home up there in the canyon, where there were a lot of men and women, everyone gathered to look at her. We said, "We found a Navaho girl, who was lost in the woods." Everyone looked at the girl and was friendly to her. That girl was afraid of our people and she cried, so we said to her, "Do not cry; they will all be good to you and will treat you well. They will give you plenty to eat." My father took this girl for his wife, and kept her for a pretty long time, I do not know how many, maybe five years. She had no children and then she just ran away.

582 586 648 Some Hopi men came down here and they told her the road by which they had come. The Hopi told her they wanted her to go back to her home. "You go on

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ahead; after you have gone two or three nights, we will leave. Perhaps we can catch up with you on the way," they said. She had been gone for a day and a night, when my father looked around but could not find where she had gone. Then my father thought, "Perhaps she has gone back home. I will follow her tracks. We want her." My father told Panamida's father, and the two of them went off. They knew where to go, so they rode on fast. They found her tracks just beyond Red Butte. They saw tracks where the girl had gone ahead. The Hopi, going home, had come behind her. They followed along until they reached Oraibi. There my father said, "I have a Navaho girl who is my wife. She ran away and came with the Hopi men." So they talked to the Hopi. One of the Hopi who had come down here had already married that Navaho girl and she had gone back with him. That girl's Hopi husband would not give the girl back to my father. He said, "No." My father said, "You must give me something; then you can have her." So the Navaho girl's husband gave him a good-sized blanket, and so my father let her go.

582 586 648

There are few formal regulations for relatives by marriage. There is no taboo between a wife and her parents-in-law. A man might talk freely to his wife's parents, even on obscene topics. Neither husband nor wife address their spouse's parents or grandparents by name. The woman has no relationship term to apply to them, though she may use their names by way of reference. Jess's wife Lina, when speaking to him will say *mamádjildja*, your mother, *mamádjiloiha*, your father, or *hwadjotum*, your parents (*huwdjod*, two). A man uses *gInyígi* in referring to his wife's parents, but not when speaking to them. Reciprocally neither a man nor a woman uses the names of their son-in-law and daughter-in-law (and their families?). They use *wInyígi* for the son's wife, usually in indirect reference only, but they may also address her by that term. Both use *gInyígi* for their son-in-law at all times. I cannot find anything corresponding to joking-relationships.

606 601 [551]

A record of sixty-seven marriages is appended in full. This includes all living Havasupai, with a few exceptions, but it does not cover every marriage they contracted. Nevertheless, it is reasonably adequate. Forty-five of the fifty-two marriages where the information is precise, were initiated by temporary matrilocal residence. The number is probably slightly greater than the facts warrant, for I suspect Sinyella, who furnished the data, of systematizing. The remaining seven marriages are nearly all with widows. A complication that could not be eliminated is due to the temporary matrilocal residence of new couples when on the plateau during the winter, with patrilocal residence on their return to the canyon. An unexpected feature is the marriage of neighbors: this in spite of the fact that neighbors are usually paternal relatives, their common seat of residence being the land inherited by the men from their fathers. Possibly twenty or twenty-five marriages are of this type: a

58 [591] [115] [591] 582

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number much greater than could be expected on the basis of chance. I am not aware what the causes of this propinquity may be. The dominance of the real property factor in determining residence is clear. In almost every instance recorded the husband returned with his wife and children after a period of matrilocal residence to take up a residence on the land of his own family, land which he and his brothers would inherit from their father.

Recorded Marriages

The sign >means that the man lived for a time with his wife at the home of her relatives. Numbers refer to the camps as indicated on the map (Fig. 50). Existing camps are there underscored.

7. Dean, Sinyella's son>Panamida's daughter, Fannie, at her late father's house 4. Returned to 7 until her death; then Dean and children went to Sinyella's, 9.

9. Lenoman, Sinyella's son>Supai Charley's daughter 68. Returned to 9; she died. Married Prince's younger sister (24) and took her to 9; she died.

10. Trikapanyega lived at 11. Married Djerdwaimo, who lived with her maternal grandfather (where?). Went to 10.

12. Big Jim lived near 12. Married Dasdjigva, who lived at her father's, 70. Went to 12.

16. Watahomidja lived at 68. Married Sudjagedja, who lived at 3. Went to 16. His son Flynn married a Walapai. His second son Joseph married Mamie, who lived with her maternal grandfather, not with her mother, Teyava, at 22.

17. George, who lived at 8>Callie, Watahomidja's daughter at 68. Accompanied her family to 16. Bought land from Big Jim (12) for house, 17.

18. Jess lived with his father, Trikapanyega, at 1. Married Lina, who lived with her maternal grandfather at 47.

20. Tohawaga lives at his father's house, 20. His wife, Pagadjahuda, is a Walapai from Pine Spring; married 65, angry, divorced, married 6, who died; married Tohawaga, 20.

21. Oliver, Rock Jones' son, lived with father at 22. Took wife Kitty from father's, 33, at once to 21.

22. Rock Jones, who lived with his father at 22, >Amu, who lived with father's elder brother at 5. Went to 22, his late father's home. His son Kit brought Kasoda's daughter home from her father's house near 59; she died.

23. His son Joe brought Tahuta from her oldest brother's house, 38. Claude, Watahomidja's son (16)>Elva, Joe's daughter, at 23.

24. Prince lived at father's, 25. Married Tasamadja, who lived at 67. Mike, his brother, lived in father's cave 25>Sinyella's daughter at her father's house, 9. Took her to 15: she died. Then he>Sarah who lived with her father's younger brother at 38. Took her to 15; she died.

26. Bob lived near late father's house at 26. Akaba lived 71>Tsahapuinya who lived with her brother at 28. Then he took her to 71; he died; she went to Bob at 26.

27. Thomas brought his wife, a Yavapai, to his father's house site.

29. Captain Jim's dead wife lived with father (near Walapai canyon?). Jim took her to his father's house at 60. Moved to 29; she died. Brought a Walapai woman to 29 in 1919. His son, Crook, brought a Yavapai to 29; divorced.

[see category 102, p.

INDIVIDUAL DEVELOPMENT

Birth Customs

162 Havasupai families averaging 4.7 persons, include roughly as
582 many children as our own. Girls marry soon after reaching maturity
836 and conception soon follows. Intercourse is not uncommon prior to this
848 time, but illegitimate births are said to be extremely rare. Yet in at least one instance such a birth did not hinder subsequent marriage.

842 No preference is expressed for either sex, nor do they claim to control
[787] the sex of the unborn child. However, by way of forecast, someone visiting the prospective mother will make string-figures which may resemble either a boy or girl.

843 For a month before the birth the woman and her husband must re-
746 frain from meat, and the woman alone from very salty foods. These taboos are relaxed a month after delivery, when hemorrhages cease. Should she ignore them there will be complications. During this time she must use a stick to scratch herself.

843 The child will be left-handed if the woman uses that hand much.
827 Should she hear a hawk (*ádjádá*) cry, her child will have the hawk's
753 spirit, which will cause it to sicken.

844 When a woman thinks delivery near, she calls her relatives. In one case observed, a young girl bearing her first child was closely watched, accompanying her mother everywhere. The mother assists the delivery, squatting behind the seated woman, clasping her hands above the abdomen and pressing downward. As this manipulation nears success, a husband, father, or brother is called on to assist with pressure applied to the front and sides. A hole has been dug in front of the woman to receive the child, in which a blanket has been folded in nest-like form. The umbilical cord is immediately squeezed and tied tightly an inch from the body, and then cut. Pressure is applied to the abdomen to cause the ejection of the placenta. This is buried deeply so that animals cannot eat it, for should they do so, the woman would become barren. The woman then stands erect to have a broad woven Hopi belt bound tightly around her abdomen in order to force out the fluids. Should this be neglected, they will flow into the top of the womb, causing death. Her mother washes the woman's hair and body with soapweed lather. Her husband has prepared a hole filled with hot stones outside of the house, or within it if it is winter. A bed of damp sand covered with old clothes is prepared on this; the woman lies face down, and is completely covered with blankets. The purpose of this is to continue the flow by heating

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159 the office became unbearably hot and stuffy, I took my work to the shade of the cottonwood in front of our cottage, while Vesnor sat in the hammock until needed. I was aware that he was regarding me with a puzzled expression, but was unprepared for the question he asked, "You got man?"

"No."

"Why you no catch 'em?"

"Too busy. I've never had time."

"Um-m-m," he murmured. He couldn't figure it out. There [162] were so many more Havasupai men than women that the latter were at a premium. When a girl reached the age of fourteen or [512] fifteen there were such numbers of suitors pressing their claims that to remain single was unthinkable. Yet here was a white woman who did not want a man. It was beyond Vesnor's understanding.

I took my turn at questioning, wanting a glimpse of his past. What put those deep lines in his face and that somber look in his eyes? No doubt he had witnessed the bloody deeds of the old chief Navaho, who had recently died; deeds that had won the acclaim of the people and made him their head chief. But Vesnor had no thought of revealing his past and knew exactly when to quit answering questions and substitute, "No savvy." So weeks slipped by without my learning much of what went on in his mind, until one day he lifted a corner of the veil—and left me more puzzled than I had been before.

159 The thermometer in the shaded center of the cottonwood regis-
154 tered one hundred and seventeen degrees that afternoon while I worked in my office. Vesnor, comfortable and at ease, occupied his usual chair near the door. His eyes shone with a new eagerness, and his countenance brightened with a thought that, sooner or later, I knew he would express.

Suddenly he asked his question, "You savvy Jesus?"

"Yes," I said, "I savvy Him."

"Long time I sick. Think maybe die. Indians come, look, say pretty quick die. No eat. No sleep. Just sick—plenty!"

For a long moment he sat there, his somber eyes on space, but

2:Iliff Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1964 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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586 thing" was a good-sized blanket—accepted as a fair exchange for a young and daring wife.

582 Marriage came early to the young people of this tribe. Those who had established homes were spoken of as "husband" and 586 "wife." The formality of divorce was unknown, and separations were unusual. Was it the very sacredness of the marriage ceremony 581 that thus secured the stability of the home? I knew that almost every act of a Havasupai's life was performed according to a prescribed formula. Since marriage was the basis on which the home existed, and tribal government was dedicated to family welfare, the ceremony uniting man and wife should be most impressive.

581 On Bob's next visit to the school, I had my explanation. "Man, 713 woman, love, they marry—that all. Coyote tell Indians that. Coyote not un'erstand paper marry, like white man. He tell us all he know. Coyote our father. People do like he say."

There it was again, "Coyote is our father," an expression that made me question how Coyote differed from Deer and Bear. Sometimes a man would say, "Coyote taught us." Coyote's unique leadership gave me the feeling that in some way, the animal was a member of the tribe. Other tribes had gens or clans, each designated by the name of a wild animal. This leads to the thought that when the tribes separated, one clan, the Coyote, may have become the Havasupai people.

584 Among a people so dominated by ritual, it was surprising to learn that marriage here was often consummated by a sort of hit-or-miss procedure. The boy might take his chance by slipping into the wickiup of the girl's parents at night. If he were not welcome, the women of the lodge chased him out, and if he were not too fleet of foot, gave him a beating that discouraged any thought of return. But if he were accepted by the girl and [583] her family, he presented his gifts to the parents and moved into the family home.

584 Not all marriages were arranged in this manner. In the small 591 village of Supai, each individual knew every other person in-

The process of making strands or splints of the willows is a very simple and primitive one. Here as I sit writing (Sept. 14, 1901), Chickapanagie's squaw has a lot of willow shoots before her. Taking hold of one end of the splint in her teeth, she pulls away the cuticle with her fingers. These alone are her tools, and it is astonishing the rapidity and regularity with which the process is accomplished. 285

As soon as a girl can frame her fingers to the work of basket making she is required to begin. It is very interesting to watch the small children in their endeavors to make the rougher baskets, and then, as they grow in skill, try the finer work. Pul-a-gas'-a-a is not more than eight years of age, and yet a basket — kü-ü— she brought to me was one of her own make, and it now occupies a place in my collection. The work is irregular and crude, but shows skill, and if the child has patience to stick to it, in time she will become one of the most accomplished basket makers of the tribe. 285 868

As soon as possible after attaining puberty the Havasupai girls marry, generally between the ages of thirteen and fourteen. The parents themselves urge these early marriages. Whether they fear the loss of virtue in their daughters from evil white men, or the degenerate young men of their own tribe, I do not know, but several parents have told me that the sooner their girls marry, after they are marriageable, the better pleased they are. 582●

Marriage is generally arranged by purchase. When a young man sets his affections upon any particular girl, he contrives to show his preference for her, and, as soon as he finds that his attentions are agreeable, he visits his fair one's father or nearest male relative, and 584

595 or four summers, evidently knew how to hold her own,
157 for she once or twice refused to obey wife number one, though she readily obeyed the same request when given by Navaho personally. This woman is now married to my old host, Waluthama.

582 Marriage with a white man is unknown among the
684 Havasupais, and unlawful cohabitation with one is punishable by death.

582 The question of marrying is becoming a more serious one with the Havasupais each year. While occasionally a man will marry a Wallapai squaw, there is a strong sentiment against marriage outside of the tribe. Yet the number of the tribe is so small, and intermarriage has so long been carried on between them, that it is no uncommon thing for a young man or woman to be debarred from choice in marriage. At the present time Gōō-fwho's son can marry but one girl in the whole tribe without violating their own laws of consanguinity, about which no people are more particular.

622 The present Head Chief — Kohot — of the tribe is
156 Man-a-ka-cha, a heavily built man, who is popular with the younger element. But he suffers much in comparison with the former Kohot, Navaho, who died in 1898.

[142] Kohot Navaho's was a strong face, marked and furrowed with bearing the cares of his little nation. A firm chin, powerful nose, gentle mouth, courageous forehead, eyes which were once fiery as well as piercing, but of late years had little of their primitive fire, — these gave a key to his character, in which firmness, courage, bravery, and gentle tenderness were commingled. His whole demeanor was of dignity and pride. No Euro-

Tribal Origin and Classification

Spier (1928, 98) states that the Havasupai probably originated as a branch of the Walapai tribe, practicing more intensive agriculture than the latter and subsequently occupying lands favorable to farming. The Havasupai feel more akin to the Walapai than to other neighboring tribes. In historic times the boundary between the contiguous areas occupied by the Havasupai and the Walapai on the Coconino Plateau was ill defined, and members of both tribes frequently met and camped together. At present, there is a higher rate of intermarriage with the Walapai than with any other tribe. 101 648 [582]

The close association and prevailing friendly relations between the two tribes in historic times are reflected in tribal lore, which allies them as victims of other tribes in warfare and raiding and as partners in retaliatory expeditions. The origin myths and much other folklore of the two tribes are almost identical in content.

While the Walapai and Havasupai dialects are very similar, members of both tribes are conscious of certain differences in vocabulary and speed of utterance, the Havasupai speaking more slowly. 197

Thus, evidence seems to indicate a common origin for the two tribes. Whiting (n. d., 11) suggests that designation of the Havasupai as a tribe independent of the Walapai "was probably only an accident of administrative history." However, separation occurred early enough to permit development of a group consciousness in both the Havasupai and the Walapai tribes. 174

Kroeber (1947, 41) describes seven subtribes or bands within the Walapai tribe. "The Havasupai," he writes, "look like a Walapai band or subtribe which has acquired somewhat greater ethnic, cultural, and historic independence" than the other seven. 174 621

Spier (1929, 217) classed the Havasupai culture as primarily Great Basin in type with a minor inclusion of Pueblo traits. Kroeber (1947, 42) notes that Havasupai resemblance to Great Basin culture lies not only "in considerable specific content, but especially in similar meagerness of defined patterns." Kelly (1953, 10) designates the Havasupai a Plateau Rancheria tribe along with the Walapai, Yavapai, Paiute, and Chemehuevi. Kroeber (1947, 41) simply classes the Havasupai, Walapai, and Yavapai together as Northwest Arizona Yumans. 101 114 171

Douglas W. Schwartz has made an archeological survey of Cataract Canyon. Basing his conclusions principally upon pottery classification and analysis, Schwartz postulates that the Havasupai are descendants of the Cohonino people who, according to him, occupied the Coconino Plateau from A. D. 600 to A. D. 1200 and migrated to Cataract Canyon, beginning about 101 114 172

spellings, the name possibly being derived from the Zuni term for the Havasupai, ka'nina (Spier, 1928, 98). From this source the county where the Havasupai live received the name Coconino. 101 114 197

Intertribal Contacts

As already noted, Havasupai association with the Walapai has been longer and more intimate than with any other tribe, and intermarriage occurs with much greater frequency than with any other group. Few Havasupai families are without consanguine relatives among the Walapai. An elderly man, Shorty Montoya, was pointed out as being "the only true Supai" (that is, he had no ancestors known to have belonged to the Walapai or other tribes). 101 648

Contact with the Yavapai was limited to Yavapai raids upon the Havasupai and retaliatory attacks by the Havasupai until about 1865, when the two tribes agreed to cease hostilities in favor of trade (Spier 1928, 375). Western Apache groups probably joined Yavapai parties raiding the Havasupai (Spier 1928, 356), and raids are generally attributed to them, rather than to the Yavapai. 648 721

The earliest encounters with the Navaho in 1864 (Spier 1928, 95) were somewhat hostile, but trading and friendly relations developed in succeeding years. Similarly, reports indicate that early relations with the Paiute were hostile, but by 1856 (Spier 1928, 360) some Paiutes had taken refuge in Havasupai and Walapai country. Subsequently the three tribes became friendly. A small number of intertribal marriages took place. 648 439

The Havasupai have had a long history of trade with the Hopi. Informants stress that the Hopi are like brothers to them. However, intermarriage has been infrequent. [582]

Spier (1928, 100, 244-5) notes that the Mohave were on the western end of a trade route running through the Walapai, Havasupai, and Navaho lands to the Hopi mesas. Havasupai contact with the Mohave was mostly through the Walapai, but Havasupai sometimes made trading trips to the Mohave.

Political and Social Organization

Leadership formerly rested with chiefs, who achieved office through inheritance or personal merit. Chiefs had no power to command; rather, they acted as advisers and leaders. Succession of chiefs was not automatic and did not necessarily follow immediately upon death of a chief. A period of months or even years might elapse before tribal opinion united upon a successor. 622

The siblings of a child's parents have no special institutionalized roles in connection with the child, but the infant's father's sister or his mother's sister may enact the role of the maternal grandmother at his birth if the grandmother is absent or deceased. Also, an orphan or an illegitimate child may become the ward of a paternal or maternal aunt or uncle. An orphan sometimes becomes the ward of an adult sibling, of a sibling of any one of his four lineal grandparents, or of another distant relative. 604 [848]

Terminology for parallel cousins coincides with that for siblings. Regardless of residence, parallel cousins are considered almost as close as siblings, but they are particularly close if they grow up in the same camp. Marriage with both parallel and cross cousins is forbidden as it is with any recognized genetic relative. If a younger sibling of a child's father or mother happens to be of the same age and sex as the child and is a member of the same residence group, the association may lead to a bond of mutual regard comparable to that between parallel cousins. 605 [582]

Children are instructed by their parents and grandparents in their economic and social roles. Verbal instructions are given when a child is asked to perform a task, but he learns largely from observation of, and participation in, family and tribal activities. The manner in which a child's parent of the same sex does his work is held up to the child as a model of the behavior he is expected to learn. In all verbal instructions, one theme is stressed and reiterated; both girls and boys are admonished to be industrious. The exhortation is phrased in the negative, however. "Don't be lazy. If you lie around all day, your family will have nothing." 861 867

While hunting and gathering are no longer significant activities, dependence upon agriculture continues. In recent years, since mechanized methods of preparing the land for planting have been adopted to some extent by tribal members, operation of farm machinery has been limited to men. Formerly, men and women shared all phases of gardening with the exception of irrigation, which was restricted to men. These changes have reduced the economic contributions which women make directly in obtaining the family's food supply with the exception of those who become wage earners. Consequently, little girls spend much less time helping their mothers in gathering and gardening activities than once was necessary. 241 462 [177] [857]

The former pattern of instructing a child in his primitive technological roles has become less significant relative to his welfare and existence as an adult. Factors which have a bearing upon this cultural change are: (1) establishment of the Havasupai Indian Reservation, and increasingly permanent residence thereon due to depletion of natural resources; (2) subsequent partial dependence of the Havasupai upon financial aid from the Office of Indian Affairs; and (3) school attendance. 178 182 861

Much of a girl's role is outlined for her indirectly. Children of both sexes share their games and, to some extent, their work. Verbal definition 861

CHAPTER III

PUBERTY AND ADOLESCENCE

Recognition of Puberty

Puberty, as noted by appearance of the first menses, marks an important point in a girl's life. Although a girl is not necessarily required to put aside childish toys and pastimes and to assume the attitudes and responsibilities of a woman from this time on, the occasion is recognized as symbolic of transition from childhood to near adult status. 881

It should be noted that adulthood and maturity are not synonymous terms to the Havasupai, who regard the former as a state of physical development and the latter as a mental and emotional condition. Maturity is characterized by them as the attainment of experience and wisdom which can only be achieved with the passing of time and therefore cannot be expected of young adults. Thus, while a youth may be proficient in physical skills, he is not expected to "know" things, such as the best ways to get along in his environment, nor is he thought to have thorough knowledge of traditional tribal folklore and folkways. Emotional stability or an even temperament is much admired, but those who are said to possess this quality are not among the tribal leaders. They may be consulted for advice, especially among their own kinship group, but this is a normal function for senior family members, even tempered or otherwise. 885 881

Puberty apparently is not closely associated with a girl's eligibility for marriage. Although a few girls in the present younger generation have married shortly after the advent of puberty, marriage usually takes place five or six years later, the length of the intervening span lending support to statements by informants that there is no connection between puberty and marriage. Although several women reportedly had not reached puberty when they married, this was not checked with the respective individuals who, in each case, were old enough to menstruate. However, the fact that they are reported to have married prior to puberty suggests that the first menses is not necessarily prerequisite to marriage. 881 582

Thus, while puberty is formally recognized with a traditional ceremony, it is not marked by any sudden change in the routine of a girl's daily life. In her work and recreational activities, assumption of adult roles is accomplished gradually and almost imperceptibly. No doubt the eldest girl in a family is given greater and earlier responsibility than that delegated to a younger sister. However, a girl's grandmothers, aunts, and other female relatives are usually at hand to assume major duties, or to help with whatever a young girl must do. 881

832 581 183 762 208 [177] However, the case warrants closer investigation before conclusions can be drawn. Pertinent factors appearing at the present time include the position of the youth's and his sweetheart's respective parents in the community, an unusual family situation for the boy, public sentiment heightened by the shocking extremity of the manner in which the youth reacted to parental opposition, and the cultural abhorrence of death. Nor is the influence of the Anglo-American romantic tradition of choosing one's own mate to be disregarded in so recent an example.)

584 Courtship as defined here probably was relatively unimportant in selection of marriage partners during early days, but at the present time it has gained significance. Perhaps it serves physiologically and psychologically to dissipate tensions arising from the sex drive before marriage, and further, to minimize marital adjustment by placing initiation and orientation outside and prior to the marriage relationship.

585 [302] [841] Although marriage formerly was unmarked by ceremony at its inception, it was generally recognizable by the roles of the bride's and groom's parents, the marriage gift, and the bride's open acceptance of the groom at her home. Further, it was publicly marked at the bride's first menses following marriage when the mothers (or other close female relatives) of the bride and groom attended their respective children, washing them and painting their bodies red. Upon termination of the menses, the groom ran at dawn toward the rising sun and the bride at sunset toward the setting sun on four successive days. Young, unmarried girls raced with the bride. Irregularity in [554] observance of these customs now lends uncertainty to the status of a newly married couple.

Growth of Trial Marriage

●582 The Havasupai at present practice virtual trial marriage. While this pattern is not explicitly defined in the culture, it occurs regularly and in recognizable form. Although adults generally profess disapproval of its practice, they give it implicit recognition by their uncertainty concerning the status of young couples known to be living together or meeting regularly and frequently.

Public and private speculation concerning the status of a couple while in the transitory stage from courtship to marriage is precisely the clue to recognition of inceptive trial marriage. At that time an affair ceases to be surreptitious and begins to assume the external aspects of marriage. Trial marriage lasts only so long as a couple's marital status remains uncertain or until their association is discontinued. The feature which distinguishes trial marriage from courtship is its open rather than secret aspect.

Thus, trial marriage is characterized by regularity in form and occurrence, by its public nature, and by both private and public uncertainty re-

garding the marital status of the couple involved. Further, trial marriages 582
lack stability; a rather large number of them are terminated after a few [586]
months. However, they are based on mutual interest, desire for possible permanent association, sexual relations (generally mutually exclusive during this period), and sometimes by common residence. While a trial marriage ending in separation tends to be discounted by the couple involved, they generally will admit that, at the time, they considered themselves married.

Two recent cases will serve to illustrate trial marriage in practice. In the first example, a couple began courting when the girl was about 12, but her maternal grandparents, who had reared her, objected that she was too young for marriage. (Perhaps of more significance than the girl's age, however, was the strained relationship between her grandparents and her boy friend's mother arising from an earlier conflict involving the boy's mother and the girl's maternal aunt, married to the boy's older brother. That problem ultimately had been resolved by termination of patrilocal residence. Since the young man was the only son remaining at home to help his widowed mother, the girl's grandparents, mindful of their daughter's former unhappiness, probably were reluctant to yield their granddaughter to almost certain patrilocal residence with this same mother-in-law.)

However, despite family opposition, the couple continued their mutual interest for about two years. When the girl was barely 14, the pair started on horseback to be married outside the reservation, but the girl's relatives overtook them and halted the elopement. Opposition to the union continued, but shortly thereafter the young man began to spend some nights with his girl at her camp. Her grandparents had not changed their view and continued to oppose the marriage. However, by the following summer, the couple was in matrilocal residence and the groom was observed doing some work for his wife's grandfather. Shortly thereafter the couple had a baby and moved to the young man's camp. Thus, serious, or secondary courtship was carried on for two years while the girl was in early adolescence, and trial marriage dated from the time the youth openly began to spend nights at her home. During the latter period I asked the young man's mother if the couple were married. She replied in an uncertain tone and with a thoughtful countenance, "I don't know. My boy don't say nothing to me yet about him married." Some months later, active family opposition ceased and the marriage was seemingly privately acknowledged and publicly recognized.

In a second case, a boy and girl who had been engaged in a clandestine affair for some time were staying temporarily with respective relatives at Grand Canyon while employed there. When they simultaneously ceased sleeping at their relatives' camps, it was assumed that they were staying together elsewhere. Flaunting Havasupai convention, they spent their day- [626]
time leisure together publicly, not bothering to disguise their mutual interest. Although the girl's parents privately disapproved of the boy as a son-

582 in-law, they made no opposition. Instead, when they heard of the open
[626] course the affair was taking, the girl's mother came from Supai and advised the boy, "If you are going with our daughter this way, don't leave her later on. You ought to marry her, because she will be pregnant."

Following this, the young couple moved into a tent together but continued taking their meals where they worked, so that they were not actually keeping house. At this time one informant told me, "We don't know whether they are married. They didn't say anything, but they're living over there like that, and it looks like they are married." Several other women, present during this interview, voluntarily echoed this opinion, everyone agreeing
[626] primly that the couple ought to be married if they were not. However, a short time later the couple separated.

When the girl gave birth to a child, her parents took her from the hospi-
[848] tal to live with them in Supai. Some months later, a reconciliation occurred and the couple was married legally. Two more children were born to them. However, the marriage continued to be unstable, and now nearly six
[586] years after birth of the first child, the couple has been separated more than a year and the wife appears firm in her resolve to obtain a court divorce.

Courtship, in this example, continued until the couple began to be seen
582 together publicly and were known to be spending nights together regularly.
584 The affair assumed the character of trial marriage when the couple made no effort to conceal it in their public behavior toward one another. It was clearly identifiable as a trial marriage following the visit of the girl's mother when the couple began to occupy a tent together in the tribal village
[586] at Grand Canyon and the social group could no longer ignore the question of the couple's marital status. It ended with separation of the couple before the birth of their child. This separation was not considered a divorce.

It is evident that neither the principals nor anyone else could have pre-
582 dicted with much certainty the outcome of the trial stage in either of the foregoing examples. Clearly then, the early stage of such an alliance is a testing period. Not only are the bride and groom on trial with each other, but the marriage itself is on trial for recognition by the families concerned and by the social group. The latter aspect is especially significant if the boy and girl are known to be related in any degree. Public disapproval usually, but not always, succeeds in dissolving such alliances.

The present practice of trial marriage probably has some precedent. The brief duration of many first and second unions reported for the older generation, and for generations now deceased, suggests a similar instability in the early period of marriage. If trial marriage comparable to that
[626] of present trial unions was practiced, it is a further indication that pre-
183 marital sexual taboos were not as strictly observed by earlier generations
585 as present informants like to believe. A man of about 60 (too young to have

observed the old ways at first hand) stated positively, "If a couple slept together, and everyone knew it, they were considered married. That is how the old people always said it was in their time." However, he conceded in his next statement that a publicly known sexual union at a girl's home did not always result in a permanent marriage: 582 585

"Sometimes the girl didn't want to get married, but after dark when the boy who wanted her crawled into her hogan, she might let him sleep with her. He might come like that for a month or two, but she could keep on acting like she didn't want him. If she really didn't want him, then she would tell him to go away and would start fighting him. Sometimes he didn't come again if he thought she meant it. 582

"Or the boy might decide he didn't want that girl for a wife after he stayed with her for a few nights and he would just quit coming. Maybe her folks would be mad about it, but if she didn't show up pregnant from him, they didn't try to do anything.

"If the boy wanted the girl he kept on coming around at night even if the girl went on acting like she didn't want him. Her folks knew what was going on, and pretty soon if she didn't say she wanted to marry, they would talk to her. They told her, 'Now you'd better get married. You been sleeping together for a long time and it don't look right if you're not married.' Then the girl would go with the boy to his place."

The preceding statement not only suggests that temporary sexual unions of the pattern formally initiating marriage sometimes were terminated after a short time at the volition of either party and that such a possibility was recognized, but it also suggests that temporary matrilocal residence, sometimes no more than a gesture of nightly visiting, may itself have been in the nature of a trial period. (However, the latter could have been true only when matrilocal residence was of shorter duration than that defined as average.) [591]

Trial marriage may have taken root in the custom of matrilocal nightly visits which apparently were part of the courting period in earlier days. Further, present laxity in chaperoning unmarried girls, closer association between young people, greater freedom from time consuming economic responsibilities during youth for both sexes, and a pattern of premarital sexual license probably all contributed to establishment of the institution of trial marriage in the present culture.

The formality with which I have interpreted these cases and informants' comments has been questioned by Leslie Spier, perhaps with justice. He wrote, "You asked me if I thought you had made too much of trial marriage. I do think you have made it seem more formal (and formidable) than is quite warranted. Trial marriage of a sort is common enough in many societies--and in some segments of our own--so that there seems nothing very special about the present Havasupai attitudes. Rather I think, as you imply as an 114 582

582 alternative, that you have here a breakdown of former conventional behavior. . . ."
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Marriage Arrangements

584 Marriage, in former times, was initiated according to either of two distinct patterns. The more formal one was characterized by prior agreement between the two families and by an advance gift from the groom to the bride's parents. The other consisted of a groom's nocturnal visit to the bride's bed, with presentation of a gift to her parents at a later date. Either pattern was equally acceptable. Apparently, the former was customary (1) if the marriage were instigated by the parents, (2) if the bride and groom were unacquainted, or (3) if the groom were bashful. The latter pattern found favor among couples who had already become lovers, and among men who felt sure of acceptance or who were spurred by an adventurous spirit.

Parentally Arranged Marriages

In the first form of marriage, a boy who wanted a particular girl asked his father to obtain her for his wife. The boy's father either spoke to the girl's parents himself or asked a friend to make the proposal. If a suitor were a boy with no close relatives, or if he were a man of mature age, such as a widower, he usually asked a good friend or some man of recognized oratorical ability to represent him, a service performed without remuneration. While it was permissible for a suitor to speak for himself, and mature men often did so, a young man was usually too shy.

A proposal normally was delivered in a conversational manner, but a suitor's representative, particularly one given to public speaking, tended to make more of the occasion with a recital of a prospective bridegroom's virtues. A proposal might be accepted at the time it was made, but as a rule a prospective bride's family required some time to consider the matter. [431] Occasionally, several visits were exchanged by the two families or their representatives before an agreement was reached. A particular gift was sometimes promised in the initial proposal, or this subject could properly be omitted. If the nature of a gift or its value was unsatisfactory or if a girl's parents wished to broach this subject, further discussions would ensue. While parents usually consulted the wishes of their daughter, if she refused a choice they approved, they might insist that she accept. When the question was decided, the girl's father, or his representative, delivered a reply to the suitor or his representative.

Occasionally, if a couple was well acquainted or had fallen in love, the youth proposed directly before consulting their respective parents. However, it was deemed proper that a boy should seek his parents' approval before making any advances to the girl or her parents, for his relatives (especially in the older generations) might know that he and the girl were

585 586 saw she didn't want that boy, or maybe the boy would quit trying because he didn't want a wife that would fight him. Girls and boys were bashful in those times and sometimes it was hard for their parents to make a marriage for the young people, not like today."

Marriage by Nocturnal Visit

584 In the other form of marriage, verbal arrangements were not made in advance. A youth crept into a hogan, awakened the girl of his choice, and was permitted to sleep with her if she wanted to become his wife. If not, she would tell him to leave. A rejected suitor usually hurried away, if possible before the girl aroused her family. If the girl's parents wanted her to marry the boy, they would talk to her and, later on, would let the boy know that he should try again. If the parents thought the boy unacceptable, they would help their daughter send him away.

Recent Changes

582 589 178 177 Marriage arrangements and tribal attitude toward initiating marriage both have changed in the last half century under reservation residence and influences of the white culture. Formerly, parental approval or eventual acceptance was almost essential due to customary residence with one set of parents and dependence of the couple upon the groom's family for use or allotment of farm land in Havasu Canyon. A relatively inexperienced young couple formerly would have been reluctant to face the uncertain economic situation alone.

Today, a reverse economic situation prevails. A married couple striking out independently in the white economic community not only survives but usually is able to achieve a higher standard of living than that possible in the parental household. While this situation encourages some young couples to reside permanently off the reservation, a majority of them remain nominally attached to a parental household while working seasonally or irregularly elsewhere. Nevertheless, the possibility of economic independence appears to influence young couples to act on their own in arranging marriage.

In addition to economic independence, other factors make it easier for young people at present to disregard traditional parental roles in marriage arrangements. Residence in boarding school removes a child from parental control and probably indoctrinates him with attitudes favoring individual, or at least nonfamilial, thought and action. Girls, especially, are less dependent socially and economically upon their parents. Adolescents of both sexes are less concerned with learning skills necessary for survival, and consequently have less responsibility and more leisure time. These factors, together with tribal concentration on the reservation, offer more opportunity for individuals to form attachments based on personal attraction. Young people also may be encouraged to independent action by the white example

of romantic love and individual freedom in selecting a mate as suggested in popular songs, movies, and magazines. 177 178

Only a few couples have been married in accordance with white custom, but these are not all marriages of recent years. It appears that a few such marriages were performed as far back as 1910, probably under the influence of Indian Service personnel employed on the reservation. More recently, the Episcopal Mission has exerted some influence in this direction. In one marriage of 1928, the bride's parents gave their consent on condition that a marriage license be obtained, because they thought this would lend stability to the marriage and thus insure their daughter's future security. 582 584

The Marriage Gift

In former times a gift, although customarily given, was not required. "In the old days, if a boy didn't give a gift his father-in-law wouldn't ask for one or talk about it behind the boy's back. The father-in-law wouldn't separate a couple on that account but would treat the boy like his own son anyway. He would think the boy gave none because he had nothing to give." 585 583

While marriage gifts are still given, they are frequently overlooked since couples have begun drifting into marriage independent of parental control. Even 20 or 30 years ago, a gift was omitted in some instances.

The traditional marriage gift was a gift rather than a bride price, although it had some features of payment or compensation for the loss of a daughter. In the same sentence, an informant may refer to goods, money, or services rendered by the groom both as a gift and as a payment, thus betraying absence of a clear definition within the culture as to the function of a marriage gift. One informant explained: "Some men considered it a price like paying for a horse, but others said it was a gift. A man would say, 'I gave---- for her.' To himself he would think, 'I bought her,' but he didn't mention it that way."

Bargaining or discussion concerning the kind or amount of a gift customarily did not occur before it was tendered, but occasionally a girl's father might make a special request in advance if the boy's family had something he wanted, or if he were in need of a particular thing. If a girl's father was not satisfied with a gift, or if he thought his daughter was worth more, he returned it. If the boy really wanted the marriage, a month or two later his father would make a substitution or add something to the original gift and offer it again. It is said that arguments over gifts did not arise. If a gift was given after marriage, the bride's father usually accepted it with good grace, regardless of his feeling, because he wanted to stay on good terms with his son-in-law. Before marriage a gift might be delivered by a suitor's father or a representative, but after marriage the groom himself ordinarily

or if she disliked his marrying a second wife, she could leave him. Her relatives would not insist that she return to him in this case. 595 [586]

Arrangements for a second wife were carried out in the same manner as those for a first wife, except that temporary matrilocal residence was omitted. If a man asked for his wife's sister, her parents might let her go without a gift, but usually they expected something.

New polygynous unions, discouraged by administrative personnel and missionaries, were not formed in reservation times until very recently. An example now exists which, in the absence of restraints, undoubtedly would be a polygynous marriage. The man in question has been married for approximately 20 years to a childless woman. Since about 1952, he has divided his time between this wife and a younger woman who has three illegitimate children. The last two, and possibly the first child (born in 1949), are publicly credited to this man, who readily claims paternity. The man has repeatedly left his legal wife, only to return to her, and, on the other hand, he has had open rifts with the mother of his children. Both women have voiced differing opinions concerning what they want the man to do about the situation. Reportedly, they have also had changes of attitude toward one another, first maligning, then sympathizing by turns. Personal meetings between the two are infrequent because they live in different communities. It was not learned whether or not they seek to avoid such meetings. During recent years, the man has spent short periods alternately with them, but he actually maintains a residence separate from both women. Public sentiment is that he should divorce his wife and marry the second woman, "because she had all those children for him and his wife has none." [208]

Exchange marriage is said to have been common in former times. Ideally, two brothers married two sisters or siblings of opposite sex married a similar pair. Occasionally, other classes of relatives made exchange marriages. Of the latter type was an exchange marriage, occurring about 1910, in which cousins of opposite sex, A and B, married a niece and uncle, C and D, respectively. In this example, B was an orphan who had been reared by her cousin, A, and his wife. When A was left a widower, he and D, also a widower, arranged the exchange. The men were both about 20 years older than the two girls. 582 583

C had been reared by her own parents, who were still living at her marriage. Because she already had a lover, C objected violently to the marriage, fighting and running away, but her parents used force persistently until she submitted to the inevitable. C's new husband gave $50 to her father; C's husband himself received nothing from the other man for B, the cousin toward whom he had acted in the capacity of guardian.

Ordinarily, in an exchange marriage no gifts would have been given, but in this example, a guardian traded his ward to a man whose female relative

582 had no similar obligation to him. The parents of the latter bride expected
583 and received a gift from her husband. Logically, it appears that her uncle, D, should have given something to C's father in lieu of a marriage gift from her groom, or should have made some settlement with A in compensation for the $50, but if he did it was not known by present informants.

This marriage was characterized by interfamilial exchange of two girls of quite different situations in their respective families, a factor which seemingly voided one of the usual features of exchange marriages, that is, absence of marriage gifts.

There are a number of marriages between two pairs of siblings, cousins, or other relatives which were not contracted as exchange marriages. These usually took place at different times, sometimes several years apart, the second marriage apparently being contracted independently of the first. Such marriages may occur with some frequency merely because the members of any particular kin group are closely related to all but a few other kinship groups.

582 No form of preferential marriage between persons in particular kinship categories exists at present, nor is any such form reported for an earlier period. The adoption and use of surnames by the last few generations makes it impossible for families to overlook certain paternal connections. Recognition of close maternal relatives, together with a continuing reduction in the number of family names occurring within the tribe through the operation of certain biological laws and sociological practices, will further limit the number of unrelated, marriageable persons in coming generations. If the Havasupai retain their identity as a tribal unit, it is almost certain that these factors will make necessary an increase in intertribal marriages. Along with this, however, it is possible that some form of preferential marriage between persons of certain relationships may be developed.

Availability and Age of Marriage Partners

Imbalance in Sex Ratio

162 Imbalance in the sex ratio exists at birth and is significant in later age brackets relative both to availability and age of possible marriage partners.

Spier (1928, 209) found twice as many men as women between the ages of 20 and 45 in the 1918 population. While this imbalance apparently had developed over the previous two decades, he pointed out that for the total Havasupai population, the 1905 ratio was 145 males to 100 females, and the 1906 ratio was 151 males to 100 females, indicating a previous imbalance in an unspecified age group or in the total population. He reported that the "Thirteenth Census (1910) gives [an] abnormally high sex ratio in favor of

Imbalance in the sex ratio is a problem for further study. Records of
162 births and infant deaths I obtained are complete only for recent years, because written records were not available for earlier generations and such data, recited from memory, are incomplete and subject to error at best.

Age Differences of Spouses

Leaving the subject of imbalance in the sex ratio for a moment, it seems
000 in order to examine recorded data showing ages at marriage and the age difference between spouses in the Havasupai population. But first, a word concerning the cultural ideal.

Spier's informant, Sinyella, said that parents formerly sought postponement of marriage until their sons were young adults (Spier, 1928, 333).
582 Sinyella himself was 25 at his marriage, an age which parents approved. "The girls should be the same," Sinyella said, "perhaps 17 years old."

Spier brands as a fallacy the opinion prevalent during the time of his field work that young people of previous generations married later in life. Most informants at the present time insist that in earlier days marriageable age was 25 or 30 for women and 35 or 40 for men, but this is probably spurious. Ages given by Sinyella appear more reasonable, and some marriages at even earlier ages probably occurred in former times just as they do now. The reason given for such late marriage as that quoted above for former times is that younger people were not prepared ("did not know enough") to take care of themselves and to teach their children. This seems unlikely in view of a couple's residence with one set of parents or the other, and the active role normally taken by grandparents in the rearing of grandchildren.

It was considered ideal that a husband be his wife's senior by at least three or four and up to seven or eight years. In practice, little heed was paid to this, the age difference sometimes being less or much greater. It was likely to be much greater if a man's second or third wife had not been married previously. Seniority could also favor the female. In a few marriages of today the wife is older by one or more years, the greatest age difference being seven years.

Because marriage records are incomplete, the mean age at marriage for either sex has not been determined for the total Havasupai population at any point in time, including the present. However, data concerning a substantial majority of the population can be produced for the last decade, and Spier's records furnish a reliable basis for a long view of factors which appear to be operative relative to age and availability of marriage partners.

Only one source earlier in date than Spier's report was available, that
582 being a marriage record book at the subagency in Supai in which a former
127 agent had recorded nine marriages occurring from 1910 to 1914. For seven

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127

of these marriages, ages were recorded or were obtainable from other sources for both bride and groom. (See Table 1 for presentation of this and other information.)

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In this sample of seven marriages, the mean age at marriage for all males was 36.8 years, for the five previously unmarried males 22.4 years, and for females 15.0 years. The mean difference in age between individual pairs of spouses among the seven couples was 11.8 years and among the five couples of previously unmarried spouses was 6.6 years. Males marrying for the first time ranged from ages 21 to 25, while the previously married grooms were 35 and 41 years old. The youngest bride was 12, and the oldest 16.

For comparison, data pertaining to 12 marriages contracted between 1950 and 1954 are presented. Ages were not obtained for spouses in two marriages which were intertribal. A third marriage, in which the wife was the older, is considered separately, leaving a sample of nine marriages. In these nine marriages, the mean age at marriage for all males was 30.5 years, for seven previously unmarried males 27.3 years, for all nine females 19.1 years, and for seven previously unmarried females 17.3 years. The mean difference in age between individual pairs of spouses in the group of nine was 11.0 years.

In five of the latter group of seven marriages, neither spouse had been previously married. The mean difference in age between the five pairs of spouses was 7.6 years. In these five marriages, mean age for males was 26.6 years and for females 17.0 years. Males marrying for the first time ranged from age 19 to 34. Previously unmarried females ranged from 14 to 20 years of age. Previously married grooms were 29 to 50 years old, with a mean age of 39.3 years, while previously married brides were 26 to 28 years of age with a mean of 30.0 years. (Included in the latter group is a couple in which the wife is two years older than her husband. She has been married before and is the mother of six children, the first two of whom are illegitimate, while her husband has not been married previously.)

In summary, comparison of the foregoing data reveals that both males and females marrying in 1950-54 were approximately four years older than those marrying in 1910-14, but it cannot be concluded from such a small sample that this necessarily indicates a trend. In both periods, the mean age difference between individual spouses was approximately the same.

Previously married males in the 1910-14 group were older by 15.6 years than were males marrying for the first time. In the 1950-54 group, previously married males were 12.0 years older than males marrying for the first time. These figures do not indicate a significant change, but of some importance may be the data showing that in the earlier group, men with a mean age of 38.0 years were marrying their second or third wives who had a mean age of only 13.0 years, while in the later group, men with a mean age of 39.3 years were marrying their second or

[Text continues on page 106]

Table 1. Mean age of spouses at marriage.

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A. Mean age at marriage for couples, regardless of whether either party had been married or unmarried previously.

Date	Husbands	Wives	Mean Age Difference Between Spouses
1910-14 (7 couples)	26.8 years	15.0 years	11.8 years
1950-54 (9 couples)	30.5 years	19.1 years	11.0 years

B. Mean age at marriage for couples in which both spouses were unmarried previously.

Date	Husbands	Wives	Mean Age Difference Between Spouses
1910-14 (5 couples)	22.4 years	15.0 years	8.8 years
1950-54 (5 couples)	24.8 years	17.0 years	7.8 years

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C. Mean age at marriage for previously unmarried individuals. (All presently married persons who have not been previously married, regardless of whether their spouses have been previously married.)

Date	Husbands	Wives
1910-14 (5 men, 5 women)	22.4 years	15.0 years
1950-54 (7 men, 7 women)	27.3 years	17.3 years

[587]

D. Mean age at marriage for previously married individuals

Date	Husbands	Wives
1910-14 (2 men)	38.0 years	
1950-54 (3 men, 4 women)	39.3 years	30.0

E. Mean age at marriage of new spouses of previously married individuals.

Husbands	Wives
	13.0 years
35.6 years	22.7 years

Table 3. Residence of family heads with respect to age.

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582

Age Groups	Family Heads		
	Off Reservation	On Reservation	
	Male	Male	Female
75-79		3	
70-74	1	4	
65-69	1		1
60-64	2	7	1
55-59	1	1	1
50-54		4	
45-49	3		1
40-44	5		1
35-39	5	1	
30-34	3		1
25-29	2		
20-24	1		
Totals	24	20	6

582 third wives who had a mean age of 22.7 years. The latter age for wives is several years above the mean age for females at marriage for the general group of 1930-34 which, in turn, is several years above that for females in the general group of 1910-14. This could well be a reflection of the diminishing role parents are playing in marriage arrangements. It appears to indicate that, when permitted some freedom of choice, girls less readily marry men much older than themselves.

Men in the earlier time period were marrying second or third wives 25 years, or a generation, their junior, a circumstance which suggests that friendship between the groom and the bride's father was more significant than that between bride and groom and that fathers were not unwilling to see their daughters married at an early age to men they personally favored. (Spier, in a personal communication, suggests that a more important reason for the marriage of older men to young girls in the earlier period probably was the shortage of women in the 20-45 age bracket. This factor certainly could have been the determining one, and appears more important than any other. Informants, however, seemed unaware of this circumstance, and advanced as reasons a father's preference for one of his friends as a son-in-law, and the larger or more valued gift an older man might be able to give.) [114]

582 587 Greater longevity of males and their tendency to remarry if widowed or divorced are factors affecting both age and availability of marriage partners in the entire population.

In the 1950 population, only nine of the men over 50 years of age failed to remarry after being widowed or divorced. Of these nine, five had been married more than once. There were 16 married men, only six of whom were still living with their first wives. Seven men were married to a second wife, two were with a third wife, and one man was with his fifth wife, the latter having been twice divorced and twice widowed. Eight, or half, of [redacted] married men had wives more than 10 years younger than themselves. Eleven men had married women younger than 50. Because the sex ratio is nearly balanced for adults below 50, marriage of so many older men to wives so much younger than themselves creates a shortage of marital partners for men in the younger age groups.

In the present adult population, there are six marriages with a wide age difference, the husbands ranging from 15 to 41 years older than their wives. All six men have been married once or twice previously, while five of the women are in their first marriages. Only two of the women themselves chose their husbands, the other three marriages having been arranged between the wife's parents and the prospective grooms. [584]

582 A primary factor limiting availability of marriage partners is kinship. In such a small population group, every person must be distantly related to every other person, but this has been recognized or conceded by few

informants and only under rather pointed questioning. While relationship prohibits marriage between first cousins in nearly all cases, second and third cousins occasionally marry, and it appears that fourth and fifth cousins marry with some frequency, being only vaguely, if at all, aware that they are related. 582

Nearly all women are able to marry if they wish to do so. In the 1955 population, there were only nine unmarried women over the age of 30. Two of them, both under 35 had never been married. One of these two apparently made no sexual alliances, and was unusually shy and withdrawn; she might have considered Havasupai men ineligible, inasmuch as she was reputed to be a devout Christian. The other woman, who in 1955 appeared to be too closely related to nearly all males eligible in other respects, and who was economically self-supporting and better educated than most of the men, married after that time to a man equal in education and eight years her senior. 589

Two of the nine women mentioned above were divorced. One of these has had three sons, living in patrilocal residence, to care for her, and the other, divorced for barrenness, might have had a difficult time remarrying. (However, it should be noted that two younger women, divorced for the same reason, have remarried.) [586]

The remaining five women were widows. The youngest, age 44, had been alone only three years. The next youngest, age 46 was regarded as a continuous trouble maker, and some informants said that her deceased husband regretted marrying her. The older widows were 53, 57, and 86; all of them had close relatives to help them economically.

By contrast, in the 1955 population 18 men over 30 years of age were unmarried. This number included six widowers, seven divorced men, and five men who had never been married, towo of whom were considered "odd," while another was blind. Two of the 18 men were under 35 years of age. Seven were between 30 and 43, and the remaining 11 were between 53 and 80. Nine of the 18 lived alone or in households having no woman, some of them caring for dependent children, grandchildren, or other homeless children more distantly related. Eight men apparently had no permanent residence, some spending part of their time in all male households and some working temporarily or permanently off the reservation where they might live alone or with relatives.

Regarding the 1955 population as the present, then, there are twice as many men as women of unmarried status. It is doubtful that relationship prohibits all 27 individuals from marriage. It appears, instead, that the majority of both men and women in this group refrain from marriage by choice. In all cases it seems to be economically unnecessary. Nearly all of the older persons receive pensions or monetary allotments, and the men 162 589

162 589 may not object to doing their own cooking and other camp work, although several of them frequently eat with other families.

582 Despite the excess of men in the older age categories and the resulting competition for marriageable women, a slightly greater number of women than men are married to members of other tribes. At the present time 13 women and 10 men are married intertribally. These 23 individuals are rather evenly distributed in all age brackets from 20 to 80.

Factors which do not prevent individuals of either sex from marrying include rather extreme age differences, senior age of a prospective wife, a woman's illegitimate children, rather large numbers of children from previous marriages, and a reputation for unusually promiscuous behavior.

Residence After Marriage

591 The Havasupai formerly observed patrilocal residence, with temporary matrilocal residence which varied in length from a few days following marriage to one or more years. The latter was sometimes omitted altogether or became permanent. If marriage occurred during canyon residence, a couple was likely to reside with the groom's family to be near his fields, or if they had observed matrilocal residence on the plateau for only a brief period, they might live patrilocally in the canyon and resume matrilocal residence on return to the plateau at the end of the farming season. Exceptions to patrilocal canyon residence occurred if a husband's family needed his help less than did that of his wife. Matrilocal residence normally continued for a year or two, or until one or two children had been born, in the latter event, perhaps three or four years. Residence rules were flexible enough so that each couple could adapt to immediate exigencies or permanent circumstances involving themselves or their parental households.

While patrilocal residence is still predominant, only seven households presently include permanently patrilocal members, a total of 12 married sons being attached to these seven households. Among the 12 extended family residence groups, one includes three sons, two include two sons each, and nine include only one married son each. Three married men are permanently matrilocal, and a fourth was until he moved away from the reservation.

596 592 594 [591] Living arrangements within the seven patrilocal camp groups vary considerably. In one example, three married sons and their aged mother occupy four houses closely grouped in a common camp area. Each nuclear family maintains an individual household, the four women each cooking separately. However, when the youngest son married in 1950, he and his wife, omitting matrilocal residence, shared his mother's hogan until he had completed his house. (The bride's mother is deceased, and her father and stepmother reside in Supai only in summer.) Two or more of the nuclear

586 595 842 Public opinion favored the divorce and the man's marriage to the girl who had borne his children. While one informant quoted the wife as saying she wanted her husband to marry the other girl, a second informant remarked, "It seems like his wife's hanging onto him when he ought to marry and help her raise his children." As previously noted, the solution seems to be an unofficial polygynous marriage, with the man visiting the women alternately although, at present, he actually lives alone in a separate house and a different location.

Problem of Tallying Divorces

586 582 It is difficult to make an accurate estimate of the number of divorces among the Havasupai because of the uncertain status of marriage previously described under trial marriage. Numerous cases were recorded of "marriages" which terminated after a few weeks or a few months. Occasionally, matrilocal or patrilocal residence was practiced, but frequently such a marriage occurred during summer employment at Grand Canyon and terminated at the end of the season, or was of equally indefinite character. Individuals often neglected to mention such marriages or denied them if questioned, but occasionally they would admit that they had considered it a real marriage at the time and ended it because they didn't get along. (Spier remarks in a personal communication: "With respect to the frequency of [114] trial marriage and divorce, I am reminded of Elsie Clews Parsons' comment on Zuni, where conditions were much like those of the Havasupai. She called it 'brittle monogamy.'")

581 586 In the present population, marriages of couples with children appear much more stable when the numerous early divorces are taken into account. However, this statement may be misleading: nearly all married couples have children after a few years together, and most divorces occur in the first months of marriage (following trial marriage) when, obviously, the absence of children is not a factor.

587 842 [595] [165] [586] At present three childless women are married to men of other tribes, and two men are married to women of other tribes who have borne them no children. Two older women, married for many years, remain barren. One of them is the polygynous wife previously discussed, and the other kept house for her husband's two nearly adult sons and helped care for his grandchildren. Another woman had four children, all of whom died in infancy. A fourth woman had a family by her first husband and may have been beyond childbearing age when she married her present husband. A fifth woman, still young, was divorced by her first husband for barrenness and was once separated from her present husband for the same reason. Three brides of the last five years have had no children as yet. All other Havasupai wives have children by their present husbands.

586 587 842 Six divorces involving children have been described previously. In the present population, all divorced mothers save one have remarried, and

Havasupai had traveled to the vicinity of Williams when they sighted an Apache, also on horseback, who had returned to retrieve a bow and arrows he had hidden. The Apache raced away, but his pursuers were too close before he saw them. The Havasupai overtook him, and as they closed in on both sides of the Apache's horse, a Havasupai took a hatchet from his belt and swerved in close enough to land a blow on the Apache's head. The Apache reined his horse, jumped to the ground, and started shooting at the Havasupai, but his bowstring broke. When this happened, he stood awaiting the final blow. One of the Havasupai rode close, swung his hatchet at the man's head, and the Apache fell dead. In anticlimax, informants add that the Apache had been mounted on a stolen Havasupai horse which followed the avenging party home. 721 562

"That old woman was boss of the war party, and she rode right along with the men all the way, even when they killed the Apache," an informant asserted. "She was there when they killed him, but she didn't kill the man herself." It is uncertain whether she actually attempted to, or did, strike any blows at the quarry. Death of the one Apache satisfied the revenge party, which, in fact, probably realized that they would have sustained injuries or deaths themselves had they overtaken the main Apache party.

Special testimony or Advice.

In recording testimony regarding former extent of Havasupai hunting territory preparatory to presenting their case in court, the Havasupai have consulted old women along with old men. This probably was done at the instigation of the law firm engaged by the tribe. 695

Under aboriginal circumstances, it is doubtful whether old women were very frequently consulted on matters concerning the tribe as a group. Most disputes probably were between segments of the tribe or between families. When land disputes arose, it appears that the council of chiefs was consulted if the matter could not be decided otherwise. In this instance, old women would almost never have played a role. On the other hand, if a disagreement were simply argued between families, and women happened to be among the senior members on either side, it is quite possible that they would have taken part in the matter whether or not they were consulted. 695 578 562

At the present time, women in middle age or older are consulted on matters of relationship if marriage is the subject. This is especially true if the woman in question is of advanced age or is reputed to have a good memory. Adult women of any age do not hesitate to add their voices to the cry of public disapproval which arises when any couple attempts to make what is considered an improper marriage. 888 602 582 562

Women play a prominent part in passing on the body of approved social behavior to coming generations, especially in the training of their own sex. 867 562

586 A Hopi woman divorces her husband merely by setting his personal ef-
562 fects outside the door and he has no alternative but to leave. A Hopi man initiates divorce by moving back to his mother's house. A Havasupai woman, on the other hand, in earlier days, could not divorce her husband
[177] without his consent, but she could be turned out at his will. Today, in the acculturation situation, a Havasupai woman can divorce her husband.

A Hopi woman, in crisis, is secure with home and land owned by herself or her mother and is assured that male relatives will assist with farming labor. In contrast, upon divorce or widowhood, a Havasupai woman with few exceptions, finds herself dispossessed and thrust into a position of dependence upon some new group where her presence and that of her children may be welcome or unwelcome but is almost sure to be economically burdensome. She has no economic assets aside from her own ability to work, and oftentimes she may find her dependence upon relatives emotionally disturbing to both them and herself.

562 Among the seminomadic and polygynous Navaho and also among the sedentary Hopi, women are in a strong social position by virtue of the matrilineal clan system and matrilocal residence. Navaho women, in addition, are economically favored through their ownership of sheep and their industry in blanket weaving or rug weaving. Havasupai women own no prop-
[423] erty comparable to sheep, and their income from basketweaving has not been exploited to the point of significant monetary reward.

562 While the Havasupai had some association with the Navaho and main-
648 tained very friendly trade relations with the Hopi under aboriginal conditions, their closest neighbors were the Walapai and, in one or two periods, they
[439] also associated rather closely with the Paiute (Kroeber, 1935, and Ramon Dangerfield, personal interview, 1956). The position of women in the Walapai tribe is almost identical with that of Havasupai women, except that Walapai women can become shamans and, perhaps, participate more freely in singing, dancing, and other social diversions. Paiute women, apparently, also occupied a position very similar to that of Havasupai women.

In comparing herself with Walapai or Paiute women, whom she was most likely to know well under aboriginal conditions, the Havasupai woman may have seen nothing to excite her envy or admiration. The situation probably differed, however, in her view of Hopi and Navaho women. The ex-
[582] treme rarity of intermarriage between the Havasupai and the Hopi or Navaho may well have been traceable to the difference in inheritance and residence patterns and the consequently less favorable position of women in the Havasupai tribe. Apparently the present contrast with white women has done
[177] most to arouse dissatisfaction among Havasupai women. Education and economic opportunities now open to Havasupai women are combining to change their roles and enlarge their rights.

THE HAVASUPAI

The father and sons work their undivided fields with the assist- 593
ance of their wives; the new son-in-law works with his wife's family 591
until he breaks away to return to his father's house.

In the village there are probably fifty camps or family units. In 621
each household are usually found some unattached relatives of close 591
degree—widows, widowers or orphans. The orphans are cared for by 736
the relatives of either parent, seemingly without prejudice to the interests of the children of the relatives on the other side of the family.

A council of comparatively recent origin, settles most disputes and 624
the tribe acknowledges three chiefs: Manakaja, the old chief, Watch- [177
omidja, the Big Chief, and Big Jim, the Little Chief. Chieftainship is 623]
inherited, but there are also men who have become chiefs through 626
prestige and renown, or both. The principal duties of the chief are giving advice and admonitions. They tell their people how to act, especially the young men and women. The men are admonished to work hard, farm, dress skins, and hunt, while the women make baskets, cook, plant, and gather wild food. They are told not to be lazy, to take good care of their families, their fields, and their stock.

It is the duty of the chiefs to speak to the people on appropriate 624
occasions such as dances, gatherings to discuss important tribal matters, at death ceremonies, or informally at sweat lodges. The advice of the Big Chief seems to carry more weight than that of the others, in part because of his position, but largely because he is a stronger character. Personal qualifications are an important factor in chieftain- [156]
ship. A chief must be industrious, even tempered, and dignified; a son who does not display such qualities has little chance of becoming a chief.

Marriages are now monogamous, though polygamy once existed. 177
The only restriction is that blood relations may not marry. The young 595
people usually arrange their own marriages though parental consent 582
is sought. Gifts are still interchanged. 584

There is no taboo between a husband or wife and the parents-in- 601
law. A man may talk freely to his wife's parents or a woman may 606
talk freely to her husband's parents. However, neither husband nor wife address the parents-in-law by name. The wife has no relationship term to apply to them. She may use their names by way of reference. A woman when speaking to her husband may say *mamadjidja*, your mother, *mamadjitaiha*, your father, or *humagatum*, your parents. The word *ginyega* is used by a man when referring to the parents of his wife, though not when talking to them.

Divorce in the early days was granted only on the grounds of un- 177
faithfulness, but today the Havasupai observe white man's laws gov- 586
erning marriage and divorce. A widow is expected to remain in 768
mourning six months or longer before she marries again, although 765
some marry in three or four months.

For about a month before the birth of baby the expectant mother 262
and her husband must observe numerous taboos. They must not eat 843
meat and the woman alone must not eat salty foods. During this time she must use a stick to scratch herself. These restrictions are relaxed a month after delivery. Failure to observe these rules will result in complications at birth, it is believed.

There is no particular ceremony following the birth of a baby. 852
The infant is placed on the cradle board as soon as it is washed. The 854
old women attendants mould the head, face, and limbs of the new born child lightly with the finger tips; point the chin, rub the bridge of the nose, and massage the gums. They do this every time the child is bathed. Babies are kept on the cradle board most of the time until they are able to walk. The Havasupai woman usually carries the cradle [182]
board in her arms rather than on her back.

Generally a child is named when it begins to play about and takes 553

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There is no marriage rule beyond A feeling that close relatives should not marry.[9] This probably helps account, in part, for the lack of patterning in acquisition of land for newly-weds. Sometimes a couple may hold different small plots of land which came to them from a variety of sources.

Land is sometimes held and worked in common by a group of relatives, though it is oftener divided as a matter of convenience. Sometimes only certain plots are held in common by an extended family, while the others are tended by individual members. There is apparently no feeling that one way is better than another. The tribe owns a large tract of grazing land on the Plateau, where they keep herds of economically useless horses. This area is common tribal land with no boundaries.

It is apparent that it would be misleading to sum up Havasupai land rights as "private property," for as Spier had already indicated,[10] the superficial appearance of individual land ownership is really ownership of the produce of the land. Actually there seem to be varieties of rights which pertain variously to the individual proprietor, the family, and the village.[11] The individual proprietor's rights to the land are largely rights to *use* the land. His control does not extend appreciably further than this, as can be inferred from the fact that if he fails to use the land, someone else soon occupies it. He has practically no rights which involve the disposal of the land, except insofar as he may be an influential voice in the deliberations of his family.

The rights of the consanguineal family are greater, and it is they who, in an immediate sense, have control over the disposition of their land. The rights of the community tend to be ultimate rights. Public opinion, and the council, when it is moved to act by a strong public feeling, is often the force which brings a family squabble to a decision compatible with the tribal interests. The three principles which guide land disposition—relationship, personal merit, and need—are public or tribal conceptions. The factor of relationship tends to keep the land within the family, and thus objectifies the familial rights, while by the latter two principles land tends to be distributed according to the best interests of the whole community.

The fact that a feeling of community rights in land is very strong among

9 Out of 39 intra-tribal marriages of individuals whose antecedents could be ascertained, 30 were between individuals of no traceable relationship; 9 were of distant relatives no closer than third cousins; 18 were of various degrees of second cousins; and only 2 were of first (cross) cousins, and they were once removed in generation.

10 *Problems Arising form the Cultural Position of the Havasupai* (American Anthropologist, vol. 31, pp. 213-222, 1929), p. 221.

11 See Max Gluckman, *Studies in African Land Tenure* (Africa Studies, vol. 3, no. 1, 1944) for a theoretical discussion of what he calls "clusters of rights."

611 614 origin of the Ha-va-su-pai, is the absence of the Gentile system of descent or organization among them, their society consanguineally being patriarchal; but they claim to be the people of the Coyote, which indicates that one gens has absorbed all the others, or else that they are, as seems more probable, a single gens, which has separated from its original body, and never again developed the separate gentes, as has been the case with other segregated clans among Indians. I incline to this belief from the fact that the Hua-la-pai, to whom their relationship is indisputable, have, as subsequent investigations have shown, the Gentile and Phratral systems, certainly to some extent. And as nearly as I can ascertain this is also the case with the Apache Yumas and Apache Mojaves, who are only other divisions of the same stock. Descent is therefore not through the mother, but [582] through the father, and marriage, to use the words of my vexed informant, can take place "wherever the one loves the other and the other loves the one, and their wants are the same. Why not?" "We know nothing else," he added, "for our father is the Coyote, and he never told us anything else. How should a Coyote teach his children what he neither knows nor practices himself?"

595 They are polygamists, the number of wives a man shall have being limited, apparently, only by the number he can procure, or by his means for supporting them. These marriages are con- [586] stant, the only ground for divorce being unfaithfulness, which, with the women of rare occurrence, scarcely exists with [584] the men, as a cause. Betrothals by purchase or stipulation are common, a girl of seven or eight summers being frequently promised to a man as old as, [582] or even older than, her father. Marriages are therefore, with the girls, usually very early in life; with the men, late. In consequence of this polygamy, a large number of the men are unmar-

595 ried, the women being monopolized, with or without their will, by the wealthier and more influential men of the tribe. The male population is in excess [162] of the female; hence it sometimes happens that Hua-la-pai squaws are mar- [583] ried; and in one instance a Moqui woman, a probable outcast from her own nation, was observed by us.

423 The children do not seem to have reg- 428 ular property, as with the Pueblos, un- 858 til after puberty, although, on the death 171 of the father, his portable property is inherited by the son, for sacrifice at the rites to be described further on.

622 The head chieftaincy is hereditary. 643 In the absence of a son, the chief's nephew on the father's side is, I believe, chosen as successor. All of the subchiefs are named by the head chief, on account of personal preference, wealth, or influence. There seems to be no dis- 554 tinct order of warriors; when a scalp is 565 taken, it is brought to the village, and [727] a dance, celebrating the death of the enemy, is given in honor of the victor, and the body is then cremated; no record or mark of dress being preserved to represent the rank or prowess of the warrior. In case of hostility, obligations to war are simply coextensive with the adult population. There is, however, a certain importance attached to one of the warriors, who is supposed to have in his keeping a medicine of war, and who, by virtue of his valor and possession, is [624] a sort of war chief, although the civil and martial affairs of the nation are more closely allied than is the case with most Indian tribes.

643 Nor is the ecclesiastical much distin- 793 guished from the civil, with them; for the head chief combines with his political office the caciqueship, or that which in Zuñi is distinctively religious, being termed Kia-kwe-mo-so-ne, or "Mastership of the House," — a kind of high-priesthood. He not only presides at the more important councils, makes treaties with other tribes, etc., directs

/101 cont./

622 and fair-minded; he ruled his people with unquestioned firmness, yet with fairness.

428 611 551 [614] [170] Children belong to and inherit property through the father. No trace of a clan system has been found, even in the naming of children, the means by which totemic names are perpetuated among the Yuman tribes of the Colorado river. In these tribes all the female descendants in the male line bear the gentile name, if such it may be called, but the Havasupai name their girls from some incident in their lives or from individual peculiarity, as, for instance, Tasŭwichĕ, "Sunlight through the Leaves," Matĕkaliwa, "Flapping Ears," and Chĕkĕchĕku, "Dancing between Two Men." In so small a tribe a complete clan organization, even if such existed, could hardly be perpetuated, since marriages between blood relations, though comparatively remote, are inevitable, and in the case of the Havasupai they are so common that no one can fathom the intricacies of his various relationships to other members of the tribe. Marriage is by consent of the girl's parents and is without ceremony. Polygamy being common, property is held in severalty by man and wife, and in case of separation each takes his own.

582 [193] [614] 584 585 595 421

764 [177] Until very recently the dead, as in all Yuman tribes were cremated; the present form of burial is in shallow graves in the rocks at the foot of the cliff. After death the family and friends assemble to mourn and tell the departed one that they are troubled, for they do not know where he has gone. Formerly horses were killed at the grave, and all earthly possessions of the deceased, even /102/ his peach trees, were burned. Food was burned with the body, and the dwelling was razed and taken away to be rebuilt.

768

755 756 The medicine-men in their practices use no herbs, but resort wholly to incantation, believing that power to heal comes to them in childhood through dream-songs. Besides singing, the medicine-man sucks the seat of pain and pretends to extract therefrom either evil blood or foreign objects that cause the illness. In case of successful treatment the medicine-man is remunerated. He must keep the average of failures at a minimum,

756